Build a Labor Party Now!

THE MILITANT

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WHAT FORCED CHANGES IN SEGREGATION PATTERN

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Brass Hats Fear to Challenge M'Carthy Underground 'Cells'

Jim Crow School Fight Enters New Crucial Phase

By Art Preis

The Voice of America has been broadcasting the lie to all parts of the world that racially-segregated public schools have been "outlawed" in this country. But the battle against separation of Negroes from whites in public education, far from being over, has in fact entered its most crucial phase. Both sides in the struggle are lining up for what is likely to be the bitterest part of the fight.

Although the U.S. Supreme Court ruled on May 17 that segregated public schools are unconstitutional, it reserved indefinitely the decision on how and when its ruling shall be put into effect. Thus, while Wall Street imperialism can use the ruling as a propaganda weapon to impress the people in Asia, Africa and Latin America with our "democratic way of life," the white supremacists and race-haters are afforded ample time and opportunity to prepare new defenses against the ruling.

The anti-segregation forces, with the Negro organizations taking the lead, are preparing to launch an offensive with the new legal weapon placed in their hands by the Supreme Court. At the same time, the white supremacist leaders are rallying the Jim Crow forces to resist, from their long-established and deeply-entrenched positions, any effective assault on segregated schools.

NAACP PLANS ACTION

While elated over their legal and moral victory, the Negro people by and large have few illusions that the court's ruling will automatically end segregation in the schools. This is indicated by the prompt action of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People in calling a conference of Southern Negro leaders in Atlanta, Georgia, May 22 and 23, to map out plans to secure enforcement of the court ruling.

This conference issued an "Atlanta Declaration" which declared that the Negro people would "resist the use of any tactics contrived for the sole purpose of delaying desegregation. The delegates insisted that Negro representatives, selected by the Negroes themselves, be part of all state and local committees and boards which are concerned with the procedure for "desegregating" the schools. Walter White, NAACP executive secretary, warned against "funny business" by some white and Negro leaders to promote the policy of "keeping things as they are."

There was a certain amount of talk at the conference that "calm reasonableness prevail" and that "the difficulties of adjustment be realized" with the "spirit of give-and-take" in discussions over implementing the desegregation ruling. But emphasis was laid on the need to combat obstructive and delaying tactics.

The principal tactic adopted by the conference is for local NAACP branches to petition the local school boards to end school segregation "without delay." A letter will accompany such petitions, most of which are expected to be filed within two weeks of the conference, requesting that school boards arrange meetings with Negro representatives to work out promptly the practical details of the new school arrangements.

NEGRO-HATERS PLANS

White supremacist leaders in the South have responded to the anti-segregation ruling with expressions ranging from outright defiance to promises of formal compliance with indications that they will concentrate on various legal tricks and gimmicks to keep actual school segregation in effect.

Georgia's Gov. Herman Tal-

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Segregation in Housing Impedes School Ruling

The segregation of the Negro people in housing and in the community as a whole may largely nullify the U.S. Supreme Court's recent ruling that racially-segregated public schools violate the Constitution.

A warning to this effect was issued by Dr. Frank S. Horne, assistant to the administrator of the Housing and Home Financing Agency, in his keynote address on May 20 to the sixth annual conference of the National Committee Against Discrimination in Housing.

"It is my personal observation," said Dr. Horne, "that the practical effect of this (Supreme Court) decision in eliminating public school segregation will be negated in many cases so long as non-white families are excluded from residence in many existing and new neighborhoods, on the one hand, and are forced into occupancy of certain areas on the other."

CHICAGO EXAMPLE

He cited the example of Chicago where, he said, some 10,000 Negro pupils "attend racially segregated schools, although such schools are prohibited by state law, since state law also permits racial segregation in housing even when it is publicly aided."

Chicago for the past year has been the scene of mob violence and continuous race terrorism against Negro families which have moved into the federal housing project at Trumbull Park.

"SHOCKINGLY SMALL"

Ira S. Robbins, president of the National Housing Conference, told the same meeting:

"The amount of housing built for minority groups is shockingly small. Not more than 1% of the new housing built from 1935 to 1952 was available to minority families. In that 17-year period only 105,000 new privately built homes were provided for a non-white population of almost 16,000,000."

In New York City, which has the largest Negro community in the world, most Negro pupils are attending separate schools from whites because of residential segregation, although New York state has had a law since 1900 forbidding separate schools for Negroes.

FUNDS NEEDED

The long fight to prevent Skoglund's deportation under a law that has been condemned by all sections of the labor and liberal movements, is being handled by the Civil Rights Defense Committee. The committee is a non-partisan organization, which has pledged to help Skoglund appeal the constitutionality of the McCarran Act if necessary.

To aid the labor leader, the committee needs funds. Defenders of civil liberties and opponents of political persecution should send contributions to the Civil Rights Defense Committee, 19 West 10th St., New York 11, N. Y.

Anti-McCarthy Campaign News

By Myra Tanner

While the Anti-Fascist Literature Campaign was successfully concluded last week with the St. Paul Branch of the Socialist Workers Party as the winner, the drive to raise $14,000 to finance all the anti-fascist activity of the party in the period ahead will continue until June 15. In the remaining three weeks all of the branches will attempt to complete their quotas in full.

This week Boston has been added to the growing list of branches that have already reached the 100% mark. Rena Bradley of Boston sent in the final payment. "Hurrah! We made it. I'm sending in $113 to complete our quota of $500. Here's hoping the other branches have as much luck as we've had."

But I doubt that much luck was involved in Boston's victory. It was probably due more to a correct appreciation of the importance of this fund and the effort that is made because of this understanding.

Detroit reached its goal several weeks ago. But these comrades are not satisfied with 100%. Comrade Stall sent in an-

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On Ellis Island

CARL SKOGLUND

Carl Skoglund, Minn. Unionist, Held at Ellis Is.

NEW YORK May 25 — An Immigration Department hearing on the case of Carl Skoglund, 70 year old Minnesota labor leader, was completed at Ellis Island today. Skoglund, who is threatened with deportation to Sweden under the notorious McCarran Act, had appealed for discretionary relief, which the Attorney General is authorized to grant and which would suspend the deportation proceedings.

The examiner's decision is expected within two weeks, and can be appealed if it is adverse. Meanwhile Skoglund, who was ordered to Ellis Isalnd on May 20, is being detained on the island.

The veteran labor leader's counsel, Stanley Lowell of the American Civil Liberties Union's Alien Civil Rights Committee, is making every effort to secure his release from detention.

BACKGROUND

The government claims that Skoglund should be deported under the McCarran Act because he was a member of the Communist Party during the 1920's, even though he was expelled from that party in 1928, and has been an outspoken opponent of Stalinism since that time.

But Skoglund's real "crime," in the eyes of the government witch hunters, is his unblemished record of militant labor and socialist activity since he came to this country 43 years ago. This led to his imprisonment in 1944 as one of the first victims of the Smith Act after he rejected an FBI proposal that he become an informer against his collaborators in the Minneapolis labor movement.

In recent years Skoglund has been suffering from a severe cardiac condition. His illness and his advanced age, were cited as reasons for the granting of discretionary relief. The Board of Immigration Appeals refused to consider the appeal in 1953, and government officials tried to rush the deportation proceedings to completion last January. Vigorous intervention by Skoglund's attorney led to the issuance of a new order authorizing the hearing held this week.

FUNDS NEEDED

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Ford Union Paper Hails Kutcher Tour

James Kutcher's coming visit to Detroit on his national speaking tour is greeted with enthusiasm by Ford Facts, paper of Ford Local 600 of the CIO United Auto Workers, largest local union in the country.

"Citizens of Detroit will enjoy a refreshing change from the Clardy, McCarthy witch hunt atmosphere when James Kutcher arrives in Detroit June 5," says an article in the May 22 issue of Ford Facts. "He will stop over here during the course of a national tour designed to publicize his new book, 'The Case of the Legless Veteran.'"

Describing how Kutcher was purged from his Veterans Administration job because of his membership in the Socialist Workers Party the article notes that the SWP "was arbitrarily placed on the 'subversive list' by the U.S. Attorney General without a public hearing and in a manner that spoke of the most flagrant disregard of our elementary democratic rights."

The fight for the legless veteran's reinstatement, it declares, "has become a rallying symbol to all those who see in the rising McCarthy menace a threat to our civil rights and a fascist program designed to smash the labor movement."

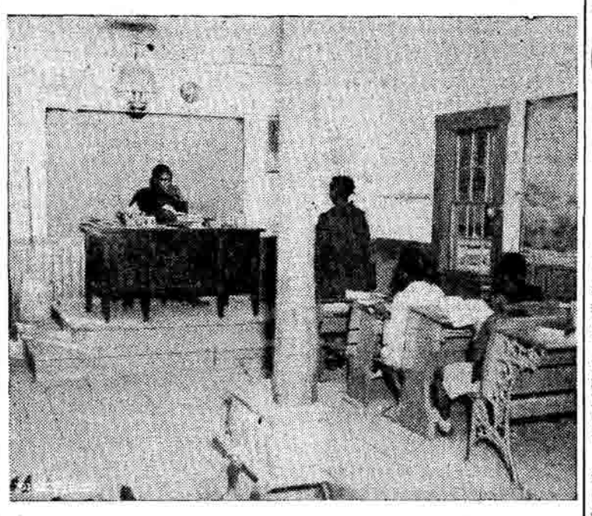
Speaking of Kutcher's book, the article says it is "a model on how to fight the witch hunt. In simple, forthright language, he tells his story — in the words of a man who lost both legs in the World War II Italian campaign, only to return and be fired from his clerk's job as a 'subversive.' His story offers an eloquent commentary on this monstrous injustice."

NOW IN BUFFALO

Before reaching Detroit, Kutcher will complete his stay in Buffalo, where he opened his tour on May 19 and where he is busy visiting labor and liberal organizations and spokesmen, explaining the present status of his fight for reinstatement and its connection with the general struggle against McCarthyite reaction.

His visit to Detroit (June 5-21) will be followed by two weeks of activity in the Chicago-Milwaukee areas (June 22-July 6). He will then head for the Seattle area (July 14-26). He is booked to spend all of the month of August in California. Sometime in September he will return east, stopping off to cover several important midwestern centers.

This Is Still Going On



This shabby, one-room schoolhouse in Ways, Ga., is the kind in which Negro children are segregated. The Supreme Court ruling on May 17 is supposed to have "outlawed" such segregation. But Southern white rulers are making plans to defy or evade the court's decision.

GOVT. VICTIMIZES ILA ON EVE OF DOCK VOTE

By James O'Hara

NEW YORK, May 26 — The federal courts moved in today and legally took charge of the independent International Longshoremen's Union. This move, coming in the midst of that union's desperate struggle against a united front of federal and state governments, all the metropolitan newspapers, the shipowners and the AFL, was designed as a crippling blow on the very day of the port-wide elections to determine whether the ILA or the AFL-ILA is to represent the dockers.

Every anti-labor force has joined with the AFL wrecking crew headed by David Beck and Paul Hall to bawl for the blood of the ILA and to break the bond that union has with the majority of the dock workers.

Last week a full propaganda smear campaign, charging that the ILA is "red," was launched. The AFL tried the witch hunt on the ILA by charging that it was being financed by Harry Bridges, leader of the West Coast dockers. A committee of the Brooklyn longshoremen had appeared on the West Coast to ask for aid and received some $3,000 from the membership of several locals on the West Coast.

The AFL witch-hunting smear was an attempt to erase the stink of its strikebreaking role during the rank and file strike this spring. As a result of their open scabbery, the dockers are without a contract settlement to this date, and numerous ILA members have been victimized by the court because of their strike participation.

The latest government move in taking over the ILA was legally based on the action taken by the courts during the strike. The ILA was then fined $50,000 and the government says it wants to get that money by taking over the union.

The waterfront is plastered with signs, some professionally made, most of them crudely lettered, reflecting the struggle now going on. The waterfront bars are the arena of intense discussion and debate, with AFL adherents not too much in evidence. A typical AFL stunt was their sending two mounted horsemen dressed in Cossack uniforms up to an ILA headquarters to shout "red," but these horsemen were sent flying down the waterfront chased by angry dockers calling them "scab."

The ILA dockers are receiving first hand lessons on the significance of the witch hunt and "red" smear. They are learning how it is used to subvert and destroy a union. If any union ever went into a representation election with a stacked deck against it, this is one. The decision of today's voting may not be decisive because if the ILA wins, as it did last December, its enemies will again resort to every means to thwart the will of the dockers.

Probe Buries Issue Of Fascist Network Inside Armed Forces

By Murry Weiss

MAY 26 — If one thing has emerged from the welter of procedural wrangling and pettifoggery at the McCarthy-Army hearings, it is this: McCarthy is operating an underground fascist "cell" network in the Army and all other government departments. Yet when the hearings resumed this week, the Army, approaching the close of its case against McCarthy, continued to refuse to fire a single shot at this, his most vulnerable point.

McCARTHY

The Army persists in confining its charges to the paltry accusation that McCarthy and his staff sought "preferential treatment" for Private Schine. So what? Where will it get them even when they prove it? What will it prove? How will it stop McCarthy?

The Schine affair has significance only insofar as it bears on the main issue. Why did McCarthy and Co. want preferential treatment for Schine? Because for them it had become a kind of test case of their infiltration of the Army as a whole. Failure to get special treatment for their boy Schine might set a precedent obstructing their campaign to grab control of all the levers of power in the Army.

How pointless and futile it is for the Army to hinge its whole case on the Schine affair and be silent on the larger and more sinister purpose of the McCarthyites in which Schine is only a petty and incidental figure!

ONE LOYALTY

What is this fascist underground McCarthy is building in the military establishment? The operatives in McCarthy's "cells" accept only one loyalty and one discipline — loyalty to the fascist leader McCarthy and the discipline of an underground secret fascist conspiracy. The McCarthyite operatives transmit secret information to their chief. They recruit to the "cells." They advance their members into the higher echelons of the Army through secret channels of pressure, blackmail, bribery and forgery.

And for what purpose is McCarthy buildig this fascist "cell" system? By placing McCarthyites in every nook and cranny of the structure of the capitalist government McCarthy hopes to build the skeleton of a totalitarian fascist regime.

The strategy of the fascist leader is to bore from within the

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Seattle Longshoremen Pledge to Fight Velde

SEATTLE, May 21 — Two thousand longshoremen in Seattle are prepared to stop work if necessary when Representative Harold H. Velde brings his House Un-American Activities Committee to town June 14 to 18.

The decision of the union was announced by Bill Gettings, regional director of the International Longshoremen and Warehousemen's Union.

"If Velde comes to town . . . and monkeys around with any of our members we won't take it lying down," Gettings said. "We'll shut down and stay with him till he leaves town."

An announcement along these lines was also made by Art Olsen, Secretary of Local 1-19, ILWU.

In a similar situation in San Francisco last December 6,000 longshoremen quit work when Velde began to redbait their union. As a result of the militant action of the longshoremen, Velde cut his investigation, which was originally scheduled to last eleven days, down to five. This was a notable victory for the San Francisco longshoremen and a resounding defeat for Velde.

SMEARS EXPECTED

Now the Seattle longshoremen are prepared to follow suit. That they have good grounds to expect a renewed attack on their union by the Velde Committee is indicated by the Seattle Post-Intelligencer, which reported on May 6 that at the scheduled hearings "the ILWU may share the spotlight with the University of Washington."

But theirs is not the only organization whose members face attack. The Velde Committee intends to make full use of Barbara Hartle, former local Stalinist leader, who turned renegade two months ago and who has indicated a readiness to serve as a professional witness against alleged "communists."

She can be expected to finger members of many leading union locals in Seattle as well as Negro organizations, liberal groups and the Democratic Party, regardless of whether the indivi-

(Continued on page 4)

Flint CIO Urges 30-Hr. Week, 40-Hr. Pay

A resolution for the 30-hour week with 40 hours' pay as an immediately effective answer to mass unemployment has been adopted by the CIO Council in Flint, Mich. A large part of the delegates to the council represent key General Motors locals of the United Automobile Workers.

Originally submitted by Chevrolet Local 659, the resolution for "30 for 40" was recommended for adoption by the council's executive committee. The council's action was taken after UAW President Walter Reuther got his International Executive Board to put a dictator-receiver over Local 659 and place 14 of its officers and members under charges.

Reuther has opposed the fight for the 30-hour week at 40 hours' pay in favor exclusively of his program for the guaranteed annual wage. This demand will come up for negotiation only a year from now at the termination of the current five-year contract. Reuther's particular GAW plan would guarantee the employers a continuation of the 40-hour week with no increased benefits and wages to the workers. It would not provide for those already laid off.

Reuther's anti-democratic attack on Local 659 followed its aggressive declarations and campaign for "30 for 40" and its criticism of the UAW International Executive Board's conduct of grievance procedure policy.

Sentiment in favor of the shorter work-week with no reductions in take-home pay has spread widely in the UAW. It has been endorsed by the leading Ford, General Motors and Chrysler Corporation locals.

ISSUE RAISED IN STEEL

The issue of the shorter work-week with no loss of weekly pay has been raised indirectly in the CIO Steelworkers negotiations with the steel corporations. Reflecting the growing demand in the ranks for an effective program to protect them against the unemployment sweeping the industry, the steel union's leaders are holding the threat of a possible demand for the 6-hour day at 8-hour's pay over the heads of the steel barons if the latter do not come through on the union's other demands.

Thus, the union coupled its set of four major demands, including the guaranteed annual wage or "supplementary unemployment compensation," as CIO Steelworkers President David J. McDonald recently called it, with the warning that **"failure to overcome the present crisis in employment will lead us to propose the development of a program based on the six-hour day with eight-hours' pay."**

Naturally, if this demand is such a potent threat and if it is considered so desirable, many steel workers must wonder why McDonald doesn't raise it right now when more than 400,000 steel workers are either laid off or working less than a full week with correspondingly reduced take-home pay.

McDonald's guaranteed annual wage program in no wise provides for the more than 200,000 unemployed steel workers already unemployed and would permit the companies to cut the workers' take-home pay as much as 25% by guaranteeing only 30-hours' income per week at present wage rates.

The growth of technological unemployment, through the increased use of automation in industry, underscores the need for the reduced work-week at higher wage rates.

Of course, winning the programs of the guaranteed annual wage, the 30-hour week at 40 hours' pay, or both, is conditional on the unions putting up a real fight with all the traditional methods of struggle they have used in the past to make every one of labor's important gains. It is not in their demands, but in their lack of any program of action that the union leaders display their chief weakness and incapacity.

What Forced Court's Ruling on Segregation?

By George Breitman

Why did the Supreme Court rule on May 17 that segregation in the public schools violates the Constitution? Why has the Pentagon in the last few years taken steps to end segregation in the armed forces?

Because they are lovers of democracy, justice and fair play? Such an explanation would raise more questions than it would answer. These judges read the Constitution before 1954, and they had numerous opportunities in the past to strike down the discriminatory "separate but equal" doctrine; but they refused to do it. The brass hats had plenty of chances to stop segregation of Negro troops in World War II, and after; but they stubbornly opposed any changes in the basic Jim Crow pattern. **If they are lovers of democracy, either they concealed their love for a long time with remarkable success or it is only very recently that they became smitten.**

Is the new policy due to a desire for greater economy and efficiency? It undoubtedly costs more money to maintain two school systems side by side if both systems are run on a level anywhere near approaching equality of service, and the separation of military personnel on the basis of color unquestionably reduces both efficiency and morale in the armed forces.

But these are not startling new discoveries. Consequently considerations of economy and efficiency, while they are a factor, don't explain why the new policy is adopted now rather than before, and they have to be rejected, along with the claims of alleged devotion to democracy, as the main reasons for the change.

THE REAL REASONS

The real reasons are political. They are prompted by (1) the pressure of the Negro people and their allies, and (2) the international diplomatic and propaganda needs of U.S. imperialism. Without both these factors, the anti-segregation moves in the schools and armed forces would be inconceivable. But the second of these, in our opinion, exerts the greater weight at the present time.

This is not said in order to belittle the Negro struggle, whose progressive significance and potential Marxists were the first to call to the attention of the labor movement. The Negro struggle has put its own stamp on political developments in this country since the end of World War II and is responsible for both demagogic promises and actual concessions wrung from the politicians in both capitalist parties.

But the failure of the labor and Negro movements to build a party of their own and challenge the supremacy of the old parties has limited the political impact and effectiveness of the Negro struggle. This failure has made it possible for the capitalists to contain the Negro movement on the political field, to keep it within certain bounds. The Negro movement today is less influential in Washington than it was in 1947-52.

If it had depended on the pressure of the Negro people alone, or at least on the kind of political pressure they are able to exert without a labor party on the scene, I think it is unlikely that the Supreme Court would have ruled the way it did on May 17.

But while the U.S. ruling class has been able to keep the Negro people and their allies from getting out of control at home, it has been suffering setbacks and defeats in the rest of the world it aims to dominate, and especially in the colonial countries. Washington could easily win a global unpopularity contest without trying.

American capitalism is hated abroad for its napalm bombs, its support of dictators, its opposition to colonial struggles for independence, its racism — and its hypocrisy. Distrust even in countries considered most friendly has become focused on the disparity between Washington's claim to represent democracy and its oppressive treatment of colored people at home. This has cost the U.S. plenty in a world whose inhabitants are mainly colored and who have no desire to come under the domination of a government that won't grant equality to its own dark-skinned citizens.

For several years Washington tried to overcome this distrust by redoubling its speeches about democracy, its appropriations for written and radio propaganda, etc. But actions speak louder than words, and all over the world the people could see Negro troops segregated from whites and knew all the details about Jim Crow in the U.S. — often better than many white people in the U.S.

THE COMPELLING FACTOR

To win domination of the world, the U.S. ruling class finally became convinced it would have to make some sacrifices and changes at home — not merely in words, but also in some actions. That was the real and most compelling impetus for the change in the armed forces. That was the real and chief consideration in the school decision.

On Dec. 2, 1952, Secretary of State Acheson took the unprecedented step of submitting a statement to the Supreme Court on an issue that seemed far outside the province of his department — the court suits against Jim Crow schools.

Damage to our foreign relations abroad has become "progressively greater" as a result of resentment against racial injustice in the U.S., Acheson said. "The continuance of racial discrimination in the United States remains a source of constant embarrassment to this government in the day-to-day conduct of its foreign relations; and it jeopardizes the effective maintenance of our moral leadership of the free and democratic nations of the world."

That, as much as anything else, and more than most things, was the problem taxing the minds of the august members of the Supreme Court as they wrestled with themselves for a year and a half to determine whether or not to finally admit that segregation violates the Constitution.

May 17 was a great day for the Voice of America. Here at last was an action they could point to with pride, and they played it for all it was worth — and more. The Court hasn't yet actually ended segregation in the schools, and it left open the all-important questions of how non-segregation is to be enforced, and by whom. But the Voice of America made it sound like another Emancipation Proclamation and patted itself on the back for having achieved a real propaganda triumph. How long-lasting this triumph will be remains to be seen. Meanwhile, the thing to be remembered by the enemies of Jim Crow in this country is that this foreign propaganda victory was a prime purpose, and not merely a by-product, of the decision.

GAINS NOT STABLE

Why is it so important to remember that? For at least two reasons:

(1) If the U.S. ruling class grants these concessions mainly because of its foreign diplomatic needs, then there is a danger that it may attempt to cancel or withdraw them when changes in the international situation alter the character of its diplomatic needs.

If, for example, U.S. imperialism were actually to achieve its counter-revolutionary aims, crush the workers states, drown the colonial revolutions in blood, and bring the whole world under its sway, would its diplomatic needs remain unchanged? Would it continue to feel embarrassed by what the people of Asia think about the oppression of minorities in the U.S.

Obviously not. And for that reason the anti-segregation concessions already granted here cannot be regarded as either stable or permanent. To preserve them and to extend them, militant mass action is as imperative as before.

(2) Another conclusion to be drawn is that the colonial revolutions and anti-capitalist movements abroad are proving in practice to be in the interests of the Negro people and their labor allies in this country.

The Voice of America has been trying to convince us that the rebellious workers and peasants of Asia, Africa and Europe are our enemies. But it turns out that their struggles in their own behalf are helping the Negro and labor movements here too — and have played a big part in compelling our ruling class to grant concessions against segregation.

American Negroes and workers should feel a debt of gratitude toward their Asian, African and European brothers and sisters, and should discharge that debt by showing solidarity toward them and opposing all efforts to maintain them in, or to restore them to, imperialist subjugation and slavery.

There is an additional reason for the willingness of the capitalist politicians and courts to grant concessions on the segregation issue. Under pressure, foreign and domestic, they have acquired considerable flexibility in their handling of the Negro question since, say, 1940. The old dog of capitalism has learned a few new tricks in recent years.

Military segregation was designed to facilitate discrimination against Negro troops. Segregation and discrimination are not the same thing: segregation was the means, discrimination the end. But discrimination is possible without segregation, as millions of Negroes in the North can testify. Now, as Fred Hart points out, the military authorities have learned how to preserve and continue discrimination against Negro troops while formally ending segregation.

Furthermore, the ruling class of this country now realizes that it is possible to maintain segregation by other means than statutes and legal rulings. The "separate but equal" doctrine is a legal prop for segregation in the schools, among other things. But it is not an indispensable prop for such segregation. The authorities have learned that schoolchildren can be segregated without that legal prop, that the same result can be achieved through residential segregation (as in the North) or through "local agreements."

NEW FORMS

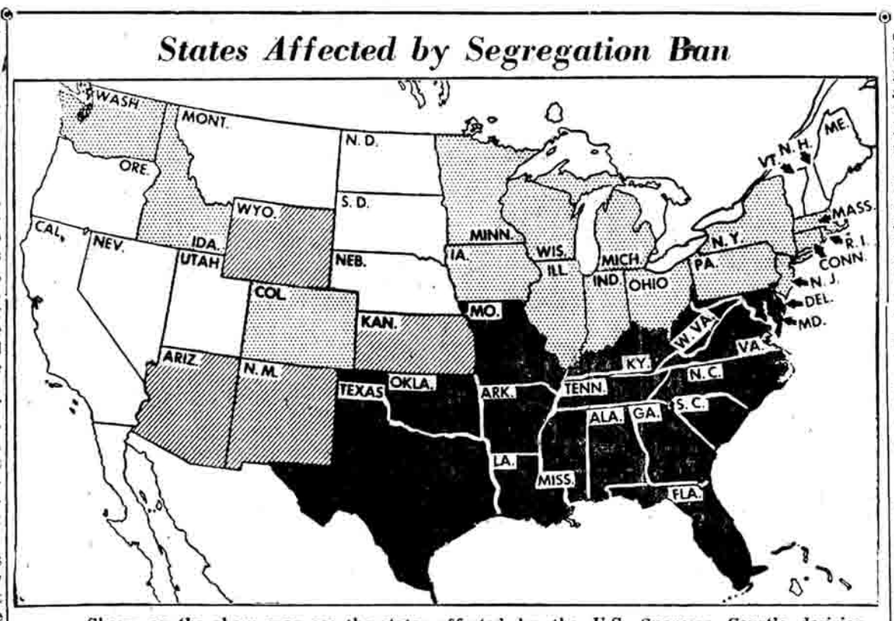
In short, the capitalists and their politicians and judges are developing techniques that will enable them to continue the essential features of the Jim Crow system, but with a new look. The Militant was among the first to note this fact in connection with anti-Negro terrorism. We pointed out in 1951, after the killing of Mr. and Mrs. Harry T. Moore in Florida, that the old forms of terrorism, such as lynching, were being replaced by new forms — bombings, shootings, and police atrocities which serve the same function of intimidation as lynching but which are listed in the records as individual rather than social crimes.

It is now necessary to add that new forms to mask Negro oppression are being introduced into other spheres of the Jim Crow system. Enemies of Negro oppression have the added duty of stripping off these masks.

PERSPECTIVES

If the ruling class thinks its present concessions will satisfy the Negro people and their allies, it will soon discover its mistake. These concessions will serve only to inspire them with greater self-confidence and spur them on to fight for more and really substantial gains.

They will see that these concessions, granted so reluctantly, remain incomplete, tentative and often more formal than real. They will remember that it took a revolution in China to force even these concessions in the American Jim Crow pattern. And they will learn, through their own experience, that it will take revolutionary struggles in the U.S., if not the full victory of socialism, to wipe out discrimination and achieve genuine equality for the Negro people.



Shown on the above map are the states affected by the U.S. Supreme Court's decision that segregation in public schools is unconstitutional. The ruling nullifies laws in 17 states (black) where segregation is compulsory and four states (lines) where it is permitted. Dots indicate 16 states that have laws forbidding segregation, although in cities like New York and Chicago residential segregation provides the means to keep Negro school children separate. 11 states have no laws on the subject.

Changes in Army's Pattern

By Fred Hart

BREAKTHROUGH ON THE COLOR FRONT by Lee Nichols. Random House, 1954, 235 pages, $3.50.

This book is a report on measures taken to end segregation of Negroes in the armed forces. Much of the information it contains is useful and some of it has not been published before. The author is a newspaperman, conscientious on the whole, who had access to confidential military files.

When World War II began the armed forces operated on a strictly segregated basis. Despite the protests of Negroes and their allies, the Jim Crow pattern remained throughout the war; if anything, it became more rigid. After the war there was much talk and many promises of change, and a few half-hearted, incomplete experiments. But nothing much happened until 1949 when the Air Force began to dissolve its all-Negro units and disperse its Negro personnel among whites. The Navy also moved in this direction but more slowly, and the Army resisted the new pattern — until after the start of the Korean war in 1950.

By the end of 1953 over 90% of the Negro troops were in mixed units, and the trend was clearly toward the elimination of segregation in the armed forces.

Nichols, in our opinion, does not correctly explain the reasons for the change; he gives credit where it is not due; and his presentation suffers from the gooey kind of popularization typical of the big magazines. But he wisely does not try to present the change as complete or thorough:

"There had not yet been a total transformation of long-established patterns of racial thinking and acting; it would be years, perhaps generations, before Negroes found absolute acceptance throughout the military world, before it would be common to hear of Negro generals and admirals. There would yet be many skirmishes, large and small, as old patterns of inequality lingered on or sought to reassert themselves, and champions of the new order joined battle. But the road was open and there could be no turning back."

Whether there will be no turning back is not yet a settled question; it will depend on the outcome of struggle. A victory of American fascism, for example, would wipe out all of the Negro's recent gains in this as well as other fields.

NEW FORMS

Furthermore, while military segregation has been sharply reduced and will probably be completely ended in the near future, that doesn't mean that Negroes now enjoy equality in the armed services. On the contrary, they still have the worst, hardest and lowest-paid jobs, and they are still denied their fair share of commissioned and non-commissioned posts.

Segregation has been or is being lifted, but discrimination continues, almost as before. One can read in almost any Negro weekly reports from Negro troops of discriminatory and prejudiced treatment in mixed units. Negroes welcome the end of segregation, for which they have fought so long, but they know that military Jim Crow continues to exist even though the new forms it assumes are less open and frank than before.

THE REASON GIVEN

Nichols attributes the change primarily to military necessity and the needs of improved military efficiency. According to his report, which reflects the explanations of the brass hats, the Army discovered after entering the Korean war that it was wasteful as well as difficult to assign Negro replacements to Negro units and white replacements to white units; that Negro troops fought better when they were not segregated; and that white troops did not rebel or in most cases even object to integration.

But all this was true and was pointed out during World War II too, and yet the military authorities would not budge an inch on segregation at that time. The military inefficiency of Jim Crow was well known long before Korea. And when the brass hats cite it now as their reason for making the change, they are using it to cover up the essentially political reasons for the new policy.

Nichols tells about the bitter resistance by many high officers to any alterations in the old Jim Crow pattern, "some of whom had to be retired to make room for new ways." But he is not as forthright in dealing with some of their political superiors. He says of Roosevelt, for example, that he was one of the men "of courage and foresight who were able to see that military efficiency and democratic ideals could go hand in hand" and that he "pushed and prodded the services into allowing greater opportunities for Negroes during World War II."

ROOSEVELT AND TRUMAN

This is untrue. Roosevelt was long on statements about "democratic ideals" but short on any kind of action against Jim Crow, military or civilian. The only "opportunities" he ever favored for Negro troops were strictly within the framework of segregation, which he defended tooth and nail to his dying day.

The author is similarly misleading when he says Truman was prompted "by strong democratic principles, frequently by religious and moral considerations." The truth is that Truman, as Senator and Vice-President, saw eye to eye with Roosevelt on the need to maintain military segregation, and that during the first half of his tenure in the White House he would not even offer any lip-service to the idea of a change.

What actually prompted him were political considerations, arising out of conditions created by the cold war that were new and different from the political conditions existing during World War II. The political reasons for the new policy are discussed elsewhere on this page.

...School Fight in Crucial Phase

(Continued from page 1)

madge voiced the views of the most openly violent opponents of conforming with the court's ruling. He asserted on May 23 that Negro and white children would not attend the same schools in his state even if federal troops were sent in to enforce the Supreme Court's decision — an action however, hardly likely to be taken by the Jim Crow government in Washington.

"We're not going to secede from the Union," said Talmadge, "but the people of Georgia will not comply with the decision of the court. It would take several divisions of troops down here to police every school building in Georgia and then they wouldn't be able to enforce it. We're going to do whatever is necessary in Georgia to keep white children in white schools and colored children in colored schools."

Officials from other southern states, however, indicate that the major tactic of the white supremacists will be endless delay and evasion, rather than open and direct defiance of the court's ruling. Thus, Gov. Allan Shivers said it would "take years" before Texas would work out means to comply.

"CALM AND REASON"

Eisenhower himself pointed the way to the tactic to be pursued when he called for "calm and reason" in the matter of applying the court's decision, echoing word for word what he called the "very fine statement" of Gov. James F. Byrnes of South Carolina, one of the most vicious and uncompromising Southern white supremacists.

The injunction to "calm and reason" can be accepted by the Southern bourbons because they realize they have some formidable means to combat the court's ruling without being in direct violation of the decision. These means of evasion are described in some detail by the May 28 U.S. News and World Report, which explains: "Southerners, as a whole, are taking the Court's decision calmly. But that doesn't mean they're taking it lying down."

In fact, reports the U.S. News, "An end to Negro schools in the South is not in sight. There will be separate schools for Negroes in some Southern States for a good many years to come." While Mississippi, South Carolina and Georgia threaten various forms of outright defiance, "Legal devices will be resorted to as a means of delaying the end of separate Negro schools. Gerrymandering of school districts is one such device. Assignments boards, which will assign each student to a particular school, will be another. . ."

Part of the delaying action will be to fight numerous separate cases in each locality in the courts and to "take utmost advantage of the Supreme Court's call for briefs and arguments, to be submitted next autumn, on methods of implementing the decisions." This would make for endless stalling, from lower courts to higher, and then back again.

Mississippi has devised a clause in its school laws which eliminates the word "segregation" but provides that in assigning any child to a school the Board of Trustees "shall take into account the emotional needs and welfare of the child involved." The school trustees in Mississippi, or other states that follow this pattern, would naturally decide that it is "best" for the "emotional needs and welfare" of a Negro pupil to be placed in a school with other Negro pupils and not in association with whites.

An important method of evasion would be "voluntary" segregation, where the Negro people could be terrorized into acceptance of continuation of the present segregated schools in order to "stay out of trouble." Also, U.S. News says:

"Many other Negroes who might be inclined to raise questions can be kept in line, these officials believe, by social and economic pressure. Local school boards, holding the purse strings of the schools, can influence many. **Employers can influence still more, since most Negroes work for whites.**"

EXTEND THE FIGHT

In towns and cities where residential segregation is complete, or nearly so, there is the possibility of "rezoning of school districts" in such a way as to confine children to particular schools according to their color. Thus, the widely-publicized District of Columbia's new ban on segregated schools, to be made effective by fall of 1955, means little, because the Negro people are very largely segregated into special areas in Washington and Negro children will continue to attend the schools "nearest them."

Thus, it is clear that the NAACP's plan to press its legal advantage through the courts, while extremely important, is only one phase of the still-continuing fight against school segregation. Most important of all is the need to mobilize the Negro people and their allies, especially in the ranks of organized labor, to wage a militant, uncompromising struggle on a mass scale to implement and enforce the Court's school ruling and to extend the fight into other basic areas, particularly housing and jobs.

...Anti-McCarthy Campaign

(Continued from page 1)

other $5 this week which puts Detroit over its quota by $50. "This last was from a sympathizer," Comrade Stall reports. "But I hope it's not our last collection yet. We still have hopes of more to come."

San Francisco jumped way up on the scoreboard from thirteenth to seventh place this week. Now only $27 short of their $700 quota, Ralph Martin writes: "It now appears that we will be able to finish the drive and make our full quota. I know this is good news to you." Similar good news is being sent from all the branches as we approach the end of the Fund Drive.

That $260 quota that you see at the bottom of the scoreboard is the amount we hope readers of the Militant and other friends will send in during this campaign. So, dear reader, if you are not already contributing through one of the branches of the Socialist Workers Party, send in your contribution soon. This part of the scoreboard belongs to you.

Just Out — Spring Issue
Of the Marxist Quarterly

FOURTH INTERNATIONAL

Contents

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by Art Sharon

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by George Breitman

Trade Unionists and Revolutionists
by James P. Cannon

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Newark	400	400	100
Youngstown	150	150	100
San Francisco	700	673	96
Philadelphia	400	392	91
New York	3,000	2,566	86
Minneapolis-St. Paul	1,200	998	83
Cleveland	250	205	82
Milwaukee	250	198	79
Los Angeles	2,500	1,927	77
Chicago	1,500	1,134	76
Pittsburgh	150	100	67
St. Louis	75	30	40
Oakland	250	67	27
Akron	100	22	22
Seattle	250	35	14
General	260	133	51
Total through May 24	$14,000	$11,655	83

THE MILITANT ARMY

The Twin Cities comrades report a highly successful windup of the joint Militant and literature campaign. Literature Agent

Helen Sherman writes, "During the last week of the local Militant Campaign, Minneapolis comrades turned in 27 subscriptions. This climaxed a very successful Militant and literature campaign during the past eight weeks. Minneapolis netted 50 subs during the campaign, six new ones along with the very high percentage of renewals.

"Charlie, who accounted for 11 subs, three of which were new, was the Twin Cities winner with 336 points. He was awarded the book 'Tito' by Dedijer. Paul from St. Paul won a selected choice of literature from the Book Store as the second place winner with 280 points. The top five Minneapolis sub-getters were as follows: Charlie, 336 points; Larry, 120 points; Bob W., 117 points; Evie, 90 points; and Alice, 75 points. All of our energetic Militant salesmen deserve commendation, as does the Militant staff which puts out the best working-class paper in the world!"

St. Paul netted a total of 80 subs during the campaign. Literature Agent Winifred Nelson reports the high scorers as follows: Paul, 280 points; Winifred, 75; Bill B., 66; Dorothy, 60; and Jack, 46.

Chicago reports a recent sale of 24 Militants at a union meeting. Sheavy sold eight; George sold five; and Ray (visiting from Milwaukee) sold 11. The following Friday, Wilson sold 11 and Dee sold three at the university. On the same day George sold three and Carol sold 14 at a plant gate.

Milwaukee had good sales of the Militant during the anti-fascist campaign. Comrades sold 61 copies in the recent period. In the past two weeks Comrade Boulton sold 44 papers.

The paper is making good friends among the readers on Militant routes in Seattle, according to Comrade Melba Winters. She writes, "Our route friend who took 14 copies of our large NAACP bundle to sell for us was successful in selling the entire amount. He took four copies the first time we called and then told us over the phone he would take 10 more copies. This kind of friend is invaluable and we are going out to find more of them by going door to door with the Militant on a consistent basis."

Literature Agent John Tabor reports, "New York had a very good sale of anti-McCarthy pamphlets at an anti-McCarthy rally sponsored by the ADA, Liberal Party, NAACP, AVC, Young Democrats and others. We sold 93 pamphlets, one copy of Fourth International, and one Militant. Priscilla sold 50 pamphlets and one FI. Manny, Ethel B., Dorothy, and John T. were the other salesmen.

"Tuesday Edith G. and Ethel P. sold seven Militants and one Fourth International at the Rand School. At a high school Donald, Bob and Pearl sold five anti-McCarthy pamphlets and two Militants. At a street meeting on Friday we sold seven Militants and 17 anti-McCarthy pamphlets."

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by JAMES KUTCHER

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Monday, May 31, 1954

Wall Street's Latest War Threat

There is grave danger that the Eisenhower administration is preparing a military assault on Guatemala, a small Central American country that has dared to defy the wrath of the Wall Street government over land reforms and other progressive measures initiated by the present Guatemala regime.

The immediate pretext for the threatened U.S. intervention in Guatemala, one of the few Latin American countries with a constitutionally-elected government, is the charge that Guatemala has secured arms from "behind the Iron Curtain."

What if it has? What right has this country to dictate to any other country whom they can buy arms from? The U.S. government buys what it pleases, where it pleases, when it pleases, from whom it pleases, and it would mean war for any other country to try to stop it. Doesn't that same right go for Guatemala?

Guatemala tried to purchase arms in this country. It was refused on the grounds that the U.S., doesn't like the kind of government they have in Guatemala. That country's constitution prohibits political discrimination and it does not witch-hunt "Communists." Moreover, it permits representatives of the Communist Party, if they can get the votes, to hold public office, and the CP now even holds five of the 56 seats in the Guatemalan Congress. And finally, Guatemala has refused to line up with other Latin American countries, most of them dictatorships, in a military alliance with the U.S. against the Soviet Union.

For these "crimes," the U.S. State Department, headed by Wall Street banker Dulles, has been putting the heat on Guatemala. In March, Dulles himself went to the Caracas, Venezuela, Inter-American Conference to get the Latin American countries to adopt a resolution especially aimed at Guatemala. This resolution gave Wall Street imperialism the right to intervene in any Latin American country which American capitalists choose to call "Communist" or "Communist-dominated."

The alleged receipt of 2,000 tons of arms by Guatemala from some "Iron Curtain" country is now the excuse for a big war-incitement campaign. Dulles even raises the cry that Guatemala is threatening the Panama Canal, although the Canal is 750 miles away, much of the way being virtually impenetrable jungle and mountain terrain.

While this red-herring hue and cry is being raised, Nicaragua, whose government is almost a U.S. puppet, withdraws its ambassador from Guatemala and breaks off diplomatic relations. Simultaneously, the U.S. State Department announces it is starting an airlift of arms to Nicaragua and Honduras for their "defense" against possible Guatemalan "Communist aggression."

All this is nothing but a scheme to force Guatemala to yield to Wall Street's demands through threat of military invasion. The U.S. will use countries like Nicaragua as a cover for such an invasion. But that will conceal from no one the real source of the attack.

Coincidentally, these hostile moves against Guatemala are made at the time the Guatemalan government rejects the blackmail demand of the U.S. government to pay $16,000,000 to the United Fruit Co. for some 250,000 acres of uncultivated jungle land which Guatemala has reclaimed from the American corporation in order to make it available for use by Guatemalan peasants.

If you don't want American boys dying for the greater glory and profit of the United Fruit Co., demand: Hands off Guatemala!

Secret Diplomacy at Geneva

The real discussions at the Geneva Conference don't take place at the public sessions but behind closed doors. "Secret meetings between two, three, four or more foreign ministers have been taking place, several times a day, in elegant suburban villas," says Michel Gordey, Geneva correspondent for the Nation.

Why the secret sessions? What are the delegates hiding? How are they deciding the fate of the world? These are the questions that immediately arise to mind.

The chief task that the conferees proclaimed for themselves at Geneva was to arrive at a solution of the war in Indo-China.

A revolution for national independence is in process there against 80 years of oppressive French colonial rule. Virtually the entire population of Indo-China supports the Vietminh movement that is conducting this revolution. In France, England and the United States, the majority of the people are opposed to warring on the Indo-Chinese.

The only equitable solution to the conflict is for the imperialists to grant independence to the Indo-Chinese, withdraw all foreign troops, and recognize the Ho-Chi-Minh regime.

If this is what the negotiators had in mind, they would not need to go into secret sessions. An openly arrived at agreement providing for the evacuation of all French troops and the exchange of ambassadors with the Vietminh is all that would be required.

But neither American, French, or British imperialism has any intention of granting the Indo-Chinese their just demands unless compelled to by the superior force of the colonial revolution. What the imperialists seek is to maintain colonial exploitation in Asia and to maneuver the working people of France, England and the United States into a war for the suppression of the national independence movements. They need secret diplomacy in order to screen their hostile moves against the colonial revolution.

The Soviet negotiators also need to conduct their end of the bargaining in secret sessions. For they are not the authentic representatives of the Indo-Chinese masses, but serve primarily the separate and reactionary aims of the Stalinist bureaucracy in the Soviet Union. At Geneva, they are sounding out the possibilities of concluding a deal — a "peace pact" with imperialism — at the expense of the Indo-Chinese revolution.

Thus all the negotiating parties are conspiring in one fashion or another against the aspirations of the Indo-Chinese people to national independence and the genuine desires of the French, British and American people for a peaceful outcome of the conflict.

It is time that the working people take the determination of their fate out of the hands of imperialists and Stalinist bureaucrats. A first step in the direction of exercising that control is to demand an end to secret diplomacy at Geneva.

NAACP and the 'Subversive' List

The "subversive" list is one of the central props of the McCarthyite witch hunt. The whole principle of thought control, silencing of non-conformists and suppression of political heretics is bound up with the "subversive" list technique.

That's why the publication of a "subversive" list by the West Coast Regional Office of the NAACP last March, with the arbitrary listing of the Militant and other organizations as "dangerous" and "subversive," constituted such a shocking breach in the anti-McCarthyite front.

When an organization is "listed" the objective is to create a big void around it. People are supposed to say, "Maybe they have the right idea, maybe they are doing good work for a good cause, but if I don't want to get into trouble I'd better steer clear."

When the NAACP West Coast Regional Office, in violation of the whole tradition of the Negro struggle, published its list, it warned the Negro people to be careful about supporting or attending meetings of "questionable organizations."

What is a questionable organization? Is it an organization about whom someone has raised a question?

The authors of the West Coast NAACP list couldn't define their meaning because they would then have to grant the "condemned" organizations a hearing. And that is contrary to the whole method of "subversive" listing.

It is instructive to note that in the same month that the West Coast Regional Office of the NAACP published its list, a fascist paper, Common Sense, published in Union, New Jersey, said: "Although this organization (NAACP) has not been cited by the Un-American Activities Committee, its name shows up so often throughout the Congressional Record that one wonders why it is not cited."

There you have the method of the "subversive" list. The NAACP should be "cited" because its name appears often in the Congressional Record. Absurd? Yes, but it is the absurdity of the witch-hunt madness. It is a warning from the thought-control gang: "Watch out! The NAACP is 'questionable' and 'dangerous.' Play it safe and stay away from them. Your job may be at stake."

And this is not merely the attack of one fascist paper. The NAACP has been facing the "subversive" list threat for some time. The FBI has always assumed that anyone who attends an interracial gathering is a "subversive."

Can the NAACP fight this menace if its West Coast Regional Officers capitulate to it? We refuse to believe that the NAACP or its members will adopt such a self-defeating policy.

Their Morals and Ours

By LEON TROTSKY

64 pages 25 cents

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Trotskyism or Stalinism for Indo-China?

By Murry Weiss

The Pablo faction in the Fourth International has been submitted to numerous tests during the last year — the East German uprising, the French general strike, the Stalinist betrayal in Iran, the Beria purge, the international right turn of Stalinism, etc. In these events the true nature of the Pabloite faction as a pro-Stalinist tendency has been revealed with the utmost clarity.

However, the deviations of the Pabloites in reaction to these events still revealed only a tendency, and not the irrevocable passage of the Pabloites to the camp of anti-Trotskyism.

Now we have before us an action which poses the question: Has the Pablo faction crossed the line from a pro-Stalinist tendency within the Fourth International to a pro-Stalinist group dragging after every twist and turn in the line of Stalinism?

NEW DEMAND

In an appeal addressed "to all workers organizations," April, 1954, the Pabloite faction, speaking fraudulently in the name of the Fourth International, calls upon the international labor movement to hold a conference in opposition to the Geneva Conference. In this appeal the Pabloites propose a number of demands. And the first demand they raise is, "An immediate armistice in Vietnam."

Where does this demand come from? Certainly not from the arsenal of the Trotskyist movement. For eight years, ever since the "dirty war" of French imperialism against the Indo-Chinese people began, the Trotskyists have demanded the immediate withdrawal of imperialist troops from Indo-China. In the United States the Socialist Workers Party has demanded that Wall Street stop all aid to French imperialism.

Now that the Indo-Chinese masses, at the cost of countless victims, are on the verge of decisively beating the imperialist invaders, French capitalism begins to speak of "armistice" — and the Stalinist betrayal-machine has likewise raised the slogan of armistice.

Why should the international working class call for an armistice? The world labor movement has the duty to speed the rout and evacuation of all imperialist invasion forces. Get out of Indo-China! That should be the loud and insistent demand of the French and international working class to their imperialists.

WHO BENEFITS?

Who wants an armistice, or a truce, or a cease fire, in this situation? The French imperialists, whose military forces have been catastrophically weakened —they can see the advantage in trying to save at the conference table what they lost on the field of combat against the heroic Indo-Chinese workers and peasants.

And the Stalinists — they have something to gain from an armistice conference. It is around such negotiations for armistice that they could sell the victory of the Indo-Chinese people in return for Kremlin deals with the imperialists.

But what the workers and peasants of Indo-China and Southeast Asia need from the international working class is powerful pressure to force the imperialists off their backs once and for all.

CERTAIN CONDITIONS

It is not excluded that the Indo-Chinese revolutionary forces might, under certain conditions, be compelled to negotiate with the enemy for a temporary settlement, cease-fire, or armistice. Such was the case at a certain stage in Korea. But that does not give the representatives of the international working class the license to "support" such a demand.

When the imperialist robbers force a rebellious colonial people to the wall, and the revolutionary camp is compelled to negotiate a temporary truce, it is treachery for the labor officials in the imperialist country to endorse their ruling class strategy by washing their hands in the waters of "truce demands." What the workers in the imperialist countries must do is demand that the capitalist oppressors withdraw completely. That is the best aid they can give to the besieged people of a colonial country under such circumstances. This is particularly true if the workers in the imperialist country use their full economic and political power to enforce such a demand.

Let us recall that in the early days of the Russian Revolution the German imperialists forced a robber truce on the first workers government at Brest Litovsk. The German Social Democrats hypocritically "supported" the Brest Litovsk treaty. They defended themselves from revolutionary criticism by pointing to the fact that the Bolsheviks were also "for" the Brest Litovsk treaty — hadn't they signed it?

Lenin denounced the German Social Democrats for this treachery. In effect he told them: Your capitalists have a pistol to our heads. We are forced to accept their robber-terms in the same way a hold-up victim is forced to turn over his belongings to a bandit. Your task, if you are revolutionists, is to force your capitalists to take the pistol away from our head, and not to call for "agreement" between the victim and the bandit.

DELIBERATE OMISSION

The Pabloites have defiled the whole tradition of Trotskyism by raising the Stalinist-sponsored slogan of "armistice." They have reversed, without explanation, every decision the world Trotskyist movement made at every official meeting since World War II on the question of Indo-China. Their appeal deliberately omits the revolutionary demand — "Withdraw the imperialist troops" — in order to make themselves more acceptable to the Stalinists. They are thereby running interference for the Stalinists who would like to use the revolutionary masses of Indo-China as bartering material for Kremlin diplomacy.

And they raise this "armistice" slogan not when the Indo-Chinese revolution is in retreat, but when it has the French imperialists on the run!

The Pabloites also include the demand, "prohibition of atomic weapons," in their list of suggestions to a proposed international conference of labor. Where does this Stalinist and bourgeois-pacifist demand come from? At what congress of what section of the world Trotskyist movement was such a capitulation to Stalinist-pacifist hypocrisy authorized?

The whole content of the Pabloite appeal reeks with adaptation to the needs of Kremlin diplomacy. It renounces, with one stroke, the revolutionary approach to the problems of our epoch. What was implicit in their previous positions is now made explicit. The world Trotskyist movement would degenerate and die if it failed to fight mercilessly against such a capitulation to Stalinism.

...McCarthy's "Cells"

(Continued from page 1)

capitalist government structure, entrench a fascist machine in the capitalist parties, paralyze the will of his opponents, enfeeble the already feeble resistance of the "democratic" political machine, and at the same time mobilize and harden a mass fascist movement that can be used as a battering ram in his drive for power.

This is exactly what happened in Italy, Germany, Austria and Spain. The reactionary class interests of the "democratic" capitalists and their parties paralyzed their will to resist the encroachments of the fascist conspiracy. Even though a fascist victory meant the axe for many of their own necks, they temporized, compromised, pussyfooted and capitulated, step by step, until it was too late. And as long as the leaders of the working class followed the same line as the "democratic" capitalists, this suicidal policy paved the way for the victory of Mussolini, Hitler and Franco.

We must never forget that Hitler took power in Germany with the consent of the "democratic" capitalists. He bludgeoned his way to the point where they handed him the chancellorship without changing a comma in the Weimar constitution, the most "democratic" constitution in the world. It was all "legal" and in conformity with the rules and regulations of the parliamentary system. But underneath the facade of "legality" the Hitlerite network was at work within the whole structure of the capitalist state preparing a fascist victory.

McCarthy has announced to the world that he will protect his fascist "cells" in the military at all costs. He said: "I receive information from people (in the Army, etc.) ten, fifteen, twenty times a day." McCarthy's chief counsel, Roy Cohn, boasted: "I have access to FBI files when I want them."

When McCarthy was questioned as to how he got a hold of a secret memorandum from the FBI to the Army he said it was from an Army intelligence officer. But when he was asked to identify the officer, he answered: "I want to notify the people who give me information that there is no way on earth that any committee, any force can get me to violate the confidence of these people."

LET HIM GO

Right then and there the Army faced the choice — surrender or fight! They chose surrender. They could have nailed McCarthy if they wanted to. They had him dead to rights on two counts: contempt of Congress and violation of military security laws. They had him hooked — but they let him go.

The "impartial" committee counsel Jenkins and the equally impartial committee chairman Mundt hastened to rule that McCarthy didn't have to divulge the identity of his "informants." They likened him to a cop who gets his information from stool-pigeons and is honor bound to protect them. Thus they conceded that McCarthy is a law unto himself and anyone who works for him has the protection of the self-appointed fascist chief of state.

The Army made a little bleat of protest and dropped the issue. As a matter of fact they permitted McCarthy to turn the tables on them. They allowed the big issue to become the right of the President to issue a "secrecy" order with regard to the policy conference of his advisors on Jan. 21. They didn't dare challenge McCarthy's thesis that he has the right to protect the confidences of his spies in the Army. Instead they allowed McCarthy to carry the attack to them on the issue of the Presidential directive. In the process McCarthy's "secrecy" was ignored, while the debate raged on Eisenhower's "secrecy."

The ineffectiveness of the Army's strategy is not due merely to bungling. From the very beginning they formulated their charges against McCarthy in such a way as to assure that he would go unscathed. The whole Army case is designed as a pressure move to slow down McCarthy — not to smash him. The most that could result from their charges would be for McCarthy to throw one or two of his hired men to the wolves — and this is by no means assured. McCarthy's fundamental position was never attacked. Obviously the Big Business interests that run the government have decided that they want to be able to continue to "use" McCarthy.

But the game of "using" fascists is a tricky one. Eisenhower's Cadillac cabinet is even less equipped to play this game than the shrewd "democratic" politicians of Italy, Germany and Spain. Some of them lost their heads fooling around with their McCarthy's.

JAIL OR WHITE HOUSE

According to Jack Anderson and Ronald May, authors of "McCarthy, The Man, The Senator, The 'Ism'," McCarthy once told a crony that he would wind up "either in jail or in the White House." It is amply clear that McCarthy will never be put in jail, where he belongs, by the Democrats and the Republicans. It is equally clear that he will not be prevented from occupying the White House by the army brass or the Republicans and Democrats.

But the McCarthy drive for power can and must be stopped. It will take a power greater than Eisenhower, Stevens, Mundt, and Symington to do the job. The American working class has the power to set in motion a movement which can roll over the fascist plotters like a road paving machine. Only the policy of the labor officials prevents this.

The labor officials depend on the Democrats to do the job. The Democrats depend on the Eisenhower Republicans. Eisenhower depends on the Army chiefs. Stevens, the Secretary of Army, when he isn't fumbling the ball, tosses it back to Eisenhower who just as quickly hands it back to Stevens.

It is high time that labor broke with this "daisy chain" of capitulation to McCarthy and mobilized its forces for a life-or-death struggle with the fascist menace.

Despite world-wide protest, it is revealed by the United Press, May 26, that the Atomic Energy Commission is planning new A-bomb and H-bomb tests. The United Press dispatch deduced the scheduled tests from "the fact that the AEC has asked the Public Health Service to recruit radiological health and safety monitors for them."

World-Wide Right Turn Of Communist Parties

By Colvin R. de Silva

The aim of the new world line of Stalinism is to isolate the USA in war against the USSR. This aim involves two tasks.

On the one hand, every effort has to be made to break the USA's present allies away from her. On the other hand, every effort has to be made to prevent the USA finding fresh allies in the USA's attempt to encircle the USSR militarily.

In both cases, the Soviet bureaucracy's method is to seek a political deal with the capitalist class of the given country at the cost of the working class and mass movements in that country.

THEY SEEK A DEAL

With regard to the USA's present allies, the powerful mass CPs of France and Italy, for instance, have already abandoned any steps based on developing the class struggle in these countries toward the seizure of power by the working class. They have openly declared their readiness to serve any capitalist government in these countries which will break its alliance with the USA. They seek to trade the class struggle and the mass movement in these countries for a promise of neutrality by their capitalist governments.

The position is similar in countries like Britain. There, the CPs are weak and are not mass parties. The working class in these countries follow reformist parties, like the Labor Party in Britain. The effort of the CPs in these countries is to push these reformist parties into participation in capitalist governments which undertake to break the alliance with the USA. The CPs themselves stand ready to support such governments.

In Britain they are already fighting against every leftward drift in the Labor Party by launching an attack on "Trotskyism" in the Labor Party. By Trotskyist they mean, of course, every consistent adherent of the class struggle in the British Labor Party. These, they hate; for it is a neutral capitalist Britain which the Stalinists seek, and not a revolutionary socialist Britain.

OFFER SERVICE

The Stalinist line is no different in the countries which the USA is seeking to bring into the world imperialist military alliance. The CPs offer loyal service to the existing capitalist governments of these countries in return for a promise of neutrality.

The best example of this policy is in India. The capitalist Nehru government is already neutral. And the Indian CP has pledged itself at its recent Madura Conference to confine itself to parliamentary methods of opposition in relation to the Nehru government. In other words, the Indian CP's new line abandons all direct struggle and revolutionary struggle.

The new line of the Ceylon CP is the infamous Madura line adapted to Ceylon conditions . . .

However, the Ceylon CP finds itself in a difficulty such as no other CP faces in any other part of the world. This arises from the presence of the LSSP (Lanka Sama Samaja Party, section of the Fourth International) in Ceylon. Let us explain.

We have referred to the CPs of France and Italy. Now, the point about them is that they are accepted mass parties of the working class. The main working class mass in France and Italy follows the CP. Accordingly, the CPs of these countries can offer to the capitalist class in them a genuine quid pro quo in a deal to sell the mass movement in return for neutrality. Certainly, they can restrain powerfully any revolutionary development of the class struggle.

The position in India is similar in some ways. No doubt the Indian CP has not yet won a decisive working class following or gained control of the mass movement in the way that the French and Italian CPs have done. Nevertheless, the Indian CP, too, is in a position powerfully to restrain and gravely to confuse the Indian masses. The Madura line can give a grave setback to the Indian mass movement.

However, when the Ceylon CP tries to apply the Madura line in Ceylon it finds itself facing two fundamental difficulties.

TWO DIFFICULTIES

The first difficulty which faces the Ceylon CP is that it cannot even hope to control or decisively influence either the working class or the mass movement in Ceylon. **The leading force and by far the most powerful party in the working class and the mass movement in Ceylon is the LSSP.** As the great August 12, 1953 Hartal (general strike and shutdown of schools, shops and stores) showed, the LSSP continues to be the organizer and the leader of the Ceylon masses in struggle. Neither the CP nor the Stalinist Front can compete with the LSSP in this field.

The second and grave difficulty which faces the Ceylon CP flows from the fact that the LSSP is a revolutionary party. In other capitalist countries where the CP is in a minority, the majority mass party is reformist; and the essence of a reformist party is that it collaborates with the capitalist class. When, therefore, the CP itself turns to collaboration with the capitalist class, the reformist party is in no position to expose the CP before the masses. On the contrary, the CP is able to hide its own collaboration with the capitalist class by taking refuge behind the collaboration of the reformist party with the capitalist class. The CP joins the reformist party in betraying the working class.

In Ceylon, this maneuver is not available to the CP. **In Ceylon, every time the CP turns toward collaboration with the capitalist class, the LSSP, with its policy of consistent class struggle, is able to expose the CP before the masses as a betrayer of the working class and the mass movement.** Indeed, the masses themselves discover the betrayal; because every time the CP swings right, it comes into direct and open conflict with the consistent class struggle policy of the revolutionary party of the Ceylon masses, the LSSP.

In Ceylon the Communist Party has recently begun a new shift to the right, offering the Ceylon capitalists its collaboration against the masses in return for a change in the government's foreign policy. The Stalinist line is currently being subjected to Marxist criticism in a series of articles in the Ceylon weekly, Samasamajist, by Colvin R. de Silva, member of Parliament. We reprint one of these articles, slightly condensed, for its penetrating explanation of the relation between the Ceylon CP's further turn to the right and the world line of Stalinism, and of the unique features of the political situation in Ceylon. — Ed.

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THE MILITANT

VOLUME XVIII — MONDAY, MAY 31, 1954 — NUMBER 22

The Negro Struggle

By Jean Blake

In Reply to a Reader — Part 2

In your criticism of the way we deal with the Negro struggle, Mr. S., you assert that the Militant "makes it a policy to court the Negro vote by pointing up the so-called injustices done to members of our colored minority." Then you say, "One will readily admit that Negroes, on occasion, are the victims of harsh treatment at the hands of Caucasian, but you people are too blinded by your own prejudiced minds to see that harsh treatment is a two-way street." For our "enlightenment" you "cite some examples of Negroes violating the civil rights of Caucasian": an incident in which two colored women allegedly attacked a white woman in a bus; a case in which a distant relative of yours was shot and killed by a colored passenger in his cab; an accident in which you were badly injured by a drunken driver who happened to be colored.

Then, after several slurs, you say: "It should be interesting to see how you Trotskyites distort, rationalize, and perhaps even prevaricate in order to make it seem that the Negroes in the above examples were the poor, hapless victims of white persecution." I'd like, without distorting, rationalizing or prevaricating, to discuss the fallacies in your method of reasoning.

First, your *assertion* that we make it a policy to court the Negro vote is entirely unfounded: We don't court the vote of anyone. If we did, we would double-talk like the Democrats and Republicans instead of stating openly what we stand for. Or we would demagogically appeal to race-hate and other low emotions and prejudices to whip up a mob spirit. As a matter of fact, in many states where undemocratic election laws bar minority parties from the ballot, we don't even have candidates for office, so it can't be just votes we're after. You'll have to discover another motive for our pointing up the injustices done to colored people.

It shouldn't be too difficult for you to discover our real motive since we make no secret of it: we consider it one of our tasks, as the socialist opposition to the injustices of capitalism, to tell the truth to expose festering sores of our society — so that men will consciously attempt their cure.

Your second main point is the *charge*, which you do not try to substantiate, that we try to make it appear that "ALL Negro crime, vice or breach of etiquette are due to the fact that John Q. Public won't sell his house to them or doesn't want his sister or daughter going to bed with one."

I seriously doubt that you have ever seen a discussion of anyone's etiquette in the pages of the Militant; and any articles dealing with crime or vice are reports and analyses of these social phenomena as such, without reference to irrelevant or secondary factors such as race, creed or color.

The questions of segregated housing and intermarriage are separate matters, and deserve much fuller treatment than can be given in this one article. However, to put it briefly, segregation in housing is not an individual right, but rather a violation of the equal rights supposedly guaranteed under the Constitution, as the U.S. Supreme Court acknowledged in declaring segregation in public schools unconstitutional.

Intermarriage — or just plain marriage — on the other hand, is a personal and individual right to be exercised by the persons involved so long as the rights of others are not violated. And in this country, at least, unlike some foreign countries with feudal hangovers, it is supposed to be a woman's right — not her father's or brother's — to decide whom she will marry, or, as you choose to put it, "go to bed with."

(To be continued)

Women and Politics

By Joyce Cowley

"No Rate Below Common Labor — All Jobs Based on Job Content, Not on Sex." This was the slogan raised by 400 delegates of the United Electrical Workers at their second national conference on problems of working women.

Delegates reported considerable gains during the last year as the result of militant struggle. They told of winning clauses in their contracts prohibiting discrimination because of race or sex in hiring, firing, promoting or assigning jobs. They told of shops where they have succeeded in eliminating the traditional segregation of work into "men's" jobs and "women's" jobs.

But the fight for equality is far from finished. Conference resolutions pointed out that there is a drive to force women out of industry in violation of their seniority rights. Employers are trying to manipulate unemployment laws to deny benefits to women workers and force them into substandard unskilled jobs or to classify them as "unemployable." Negro women in particular have been victimized by attempts to force them out of industry and back into domestic service.

The conference adopted resolutions on job discrimination, on speedup and health, and on women in legislative and political action. All of these resolutions underline the fact that economic struggles in the shop are not enough and that political action is required to correct unemployment insurance laws, force through legislation for equal pay, added child care facilities and increased expenditures for schools and education. The resolution on speedup and health calls for an even broader political program — national health insurance, low-rent public housing, a shorter work week.

I'm in favor of all these things and read through the resolutions carefully to find out *what kind of political action* the UE proposed. It's not very clear. At one point they condemn the "deliberate betrayals on civil rights and fair practices legislation" and state emphatically that "both Republican and Democratic administrations have openly and consistently played the employers' role in these betrayals. . . Not only does the government assist employers in their attacks on the conditions and security of women workers in their jobs, but everywhere the grievous lack of government plans and facilities to protect and advance the welfare of women workers opens the gate to widespread company attacks."

They also suggest that women workers be encouraged to run for political office and that there should be a special campaign to involve more working women in the 1954 elections. "Every effort should be made," they conclude, "to assure that every candidate given our support fights for our program."

But they say nothing about *independent* working class candidates. The candidates they evidently plan to support are the Democrats and Republicans who so "openly and consistently" played the employers' role. Personally I don't believe these politicians have had a change of heart, and I don't intend to vote for anyone who has openly and consistently been on the side of the employers. The political aims of the UE conference can be achieved only through independent action of the workers. The conference failed to reach the only logical answer to the problems presented — a Labor Party that consistently fights for the interests of *all* workers.

Notes from the News

WRONG NUMBER: Contending that wiretapping authority sought by Brownell would lead to "guilt by communication," cartoonist Herbert L. Block said: "Limited wiretapping is about as possible as limited addiction to dope. My feeling is that we have a wrong number in the Attorney General's office." He also said: "Some of us have been guilty of associating with the United States Army. Some of us while in the Army had dental work done. Who knows what went on in those dark cavities?"

* * *

HOUSING NEXT: 18 Savannah, Ga., Negroes filed suit in federal court on May 21 for an order to outlaw racial segregation in public housing projects. They were refused admission to the Fred Wessell Homes solely because of their color. This new project was built on a site where a Negro slum section had been razed. The suit against federal and local housing officials also seeks $90,000 in damages. The lawyers who filed the suit include Thurgood Marshall of the NAACP.

* * *

WILL JOE GO?: Leroy Gore, leader of the Wisconsin Joe-Must-Go movement, now is beginning to wonder, "Will Joe Go?" He blames the leaders of the labor movement, especially in Milwaukee, and the Democratic Party, for their failure to mobilize support for petitions to force a recall-of-McCarthy election.

* * *

SOME "SOCIALISTS": In Reading, Pa., a member of Norman Thomas' Socialist Party, Mark L. Brown, entered the primary to seek a Democratic Party nomination for the state's General Assembly. Brown lost, but received the praise of the Reading Labor Advocate, official paper of the local SP, whose editor wrote that the "question of whether Brown's maneuver was of real and lasting value to the socialist cause must await the further verdict of time." Brown was further commended by being selected as a Reading delegate to the national convention of the SP in Philadelphia, May 29-31. This convention is scheduled to decide "a line on future party political activity," the Advocate reports.

* * *

BUNCHE ON GRIDDLE: Ralph Bunche is now being grilled by a U.S. loyalty board because he used to belong to organizations which are now on the Attorney General's "subversive" blacklist. He may not suffer the same fate as others "indiscreet" enough to have joined organizations of their own choice because he is a Nobel Prize winner and is employed by the UN, not the U.S.

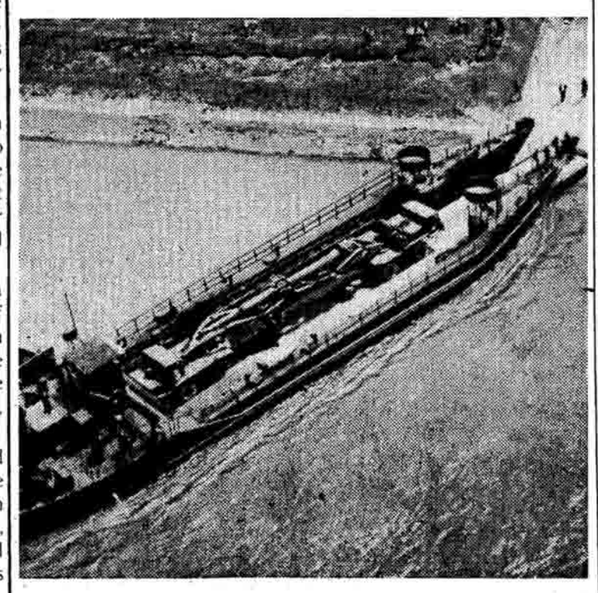
* * *

UNION MERGER: The Distributive, Processing and Office Union, independent since the split in the CIO in 1949, and the Plaything, Jewelry and Novelty Workers, CIO, both voted to give up their separate status as international unions and join the Retail, Wholesale and Department Store Union, CIO. The combined organization, retaining the name of the latter, claims 140,000 members.

* * *

LOOK WHO'S "MORAL": Sen. Guy M. Gillette (D. Iowa) took the Senate floor on May 21 to attack those who praise McCarthy's objectives but deplore his methods. "The Communist Lenin could say that a supposedly worthy goal sanctified the methods used to attain it," he declared, "but no Christian doctrine and no American governmental principle can possibly excuse improper procedures and methods by relating them to the worthiness of the ultimate goal that is sought." But Lenin never said what Gillette claimed he did. Thus Gillette too is employing "improper procedures and methods" (lies about Lenin) to promote a "worthy goal" (exposure of fake anti-McCarthyism).

Threat to World Peace



Another threatening war gesture is made by Eisenhower government in the demonstrative display of atomic cannons in West Germany. This mammoth 280 mm. atomic cannon is being ferried across the Rhine river near Germersheim, Germany, in a joint Army-Navy exercise called Operation Big Lift.

Turner Rallies Support For Newark Elections

By Daniel Roberts

NEWARK, May 25 — The entire Newark Negro community has now closed ranks behind Irvine I. Turner, independent Negro candidate for City Council from the Central Ward, and his chances of election in the June 15 run-off elections are deemed to be excellent.

The middle-class sections of the community — who supported another Negro candidate prior to the May 11 primaries — have finally rallied behind Turner, who had the backing of the Negro workers from the very beginning.

The whole development points to the decisive role that the working class elements play in the Negro community. They supplied the active campaign workers for Turner and influenced powerful community organizations like the Baptist ministers and beauticians to endorse him. It was the support of virtually all the Negro CIO members for Turner that swung the CIO Council over to his side.

Finally, the vote of the Negro workers placed Turner on top in the primary elections with 41% of the vote and nearly a two-to-one lead over his nearest rival, John Salvato. Thereby they compelled the Negro middle-class to follow the workers' lead and unite behind Turner.

CENTRAL TASK

With the Negro community united and enthusiastic about the prospects of victory, the central task of the run-off campaign will be to win a large proportion of the white vote in the Central Ward for Turner. If this can be accomplished and Turner wins an overwhelming victory at the polls, the principle of Negro representation will be securely established in Newark. It will mark a double victory for the Negro community — first, in successfully organizing its own vote; and second, in cementing a firm bond of solidarity with the white workers.

The issue of the white vote has become all the more burning because Salvato, Turner's opponent and a Democratic wardheeler, is waging a straight Negro-baiting campaign in a desperate attempt to stave off defeat. A smashing victory for Turner will wipe out for a long time to come any fear that white can be pitted against Negro in the Central Ward.

NEW COMMITTEE

To help win white support for Turner, the newly formed Independent Committee to Elect Turner, Callaghan and Hazelwood began circulating last week a leaflet entitled "Why White Workers Should Help Elect Turner." This leaflet stresses the common interests of white and Negro workers and shows that, because the Negro community is primarily working class in composition, a representative of the Negro community on the City Council would become the spokesman for the needs and aspirations of all working people — Negro and white alike.

The Independent Committee has also issued a leaflet urging Negro workers to help elect James T. Callaghan, a CIO official running at large. Callaghan's candidacy was sponsored by the Essex-West Hudson CIO Council, and he is running as an independent candidate in opposition to the nominees of the Democratic and Republican machines.

CALLAGHAN'S WEAKNESS

By all rights, Callaghan should have received his strongest support from the Negro community where the name of the CIO stands in high repute with workers and middle class layers alike. Furthermore the Negro community could have been readily rallied to an independent CIO candidate precisely because it was already in motion with a candidate of its own.

Instead, in the primary election Callaghan polled his lowest vote in the Central Ward.

The fault is entirely Callaghan's and that of the top CIO officials. Callaghan never supported Turner at all, even after the latter received the CIO's endorsement. He did not even campaign vigorously for Harry Hazelwood Jr. — another independent Negro candidate running at large, who was on the same Citizen's Committee slate with Callaghan and was also endorsed by the CIO.

As a result, the bulk of the Negro workers did not think there was anything especially to distinguish Callaghan from other candidates and tended to ignore him in the May 11 elections.

It is imperative, if Callaghan is to increase his chances of winning in the run-off elections, that as the spokesman of the CIO he campaign vigorously for the principle of Negro representation and the election of Turner and Hazelwood.

. . . Longshoremen To Act on Velde

(Continued from page 1)

duals ever had ties with the Communist party or not.

VELDE'S PURPOSE

This is in line with the purpose of Velde's investigations in any particular city, which is to try to fire up the witch hunting spirit. By smearing individual members, Velde hopes to divert the unions from the road of militant struggle against the employers and to preoccupy them with the drive against alleged Communists within their own ranks.

Ultimately, Velde, like McCarthy hopes to build up in the witch-hunting atmosphere a fascist apparatus that can be used against the trade-union movement as a whole.

That is why the longshoremen are absolutely right in their stand that an attack by Velde on any individual member is an attack upon the union as a whole. And they are equally right in their determination to show by militant action that the union is prepared to defend itself. The decision of the longshoremen should be copied by all union bodies in the Seattle area.

SEATTLE

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"The Velde Committee Attacks the Unions"

Speaker: George Flint

Saturday, June 12, at 8 P.M.

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Killer-Cops in Baltimore Murder Sleeping Negro

BALTIMORE, May 22 — A medical examiner's report issued yesterday confirms the charge of eye-witnesses that James Broadus Jr., 23 year-old Negro steel worker and Korean war veteran, was murdered in cold blood by police while asleep in a glider in his own back yard. This Jim Crow atrocity was committed one day after the Supreme Court ruling against school segregation.

Young Broadus was killed when 200 armed police invaded the Negro neighborhood in pursuit of a man alleged to have shot a cop who was attempting to arrest him. The suspect was captured a block from the Broadus home within minutes of the killing.

The killer-cop, Sgt. Louis Rehak, claimed that he and a companion were searching for the suspect when Broadus leaped at them from under a tarpaulin brandishing a chisel. He said he then shot Broadus in a struggle to disarm him.

His story was flatly contradicted by Mr. and Mrs. Leonard MacDonald, neighbors of Broadus, who saw the killing from their back porch.

EYEWITNESS REPORTS

The MacDonalds said the two cops entered the yard and spotted Broadus under the tarpaulin. Rehak, they said, shouted, "Here he is," lifted the tarpaulin and pumped four or five bullets into his sleeping body.

As the wounded youngster fell from the glider to the ground, the witnesses charged, Rehak clubbed him on the head with his pistol butt. Broadus died of his wounds that night in University Hospital.

Rehak's story was further blasted by Broadus' father, who told newsmen that the tarpaulin had powder-marked bullet holes in it, proving that his son had been shot at close range under the tarpaulin.

His charge was confirmed by another neighbor, Mrs. Gladys Smith, who saw the bullet holes in the tarpaulin, which was not removed by the police until the next day.

A third neighbor, Mrs. Theresa Timmonson, who heard the shots and rushed to her rear window, says she saw Broadus on the ground beside the glider and heard him say, "Why did you shoot me? I didn't do anything."

The state medical examiner report says that Broadus died from four bullet wounds — all in the back. The paths of the four bullets were downward at an angle of about 45 degrees from horizontal. The report also noted that Broadus suffered three severe lacerations of the scalp.

This wanton killing is part of a long and unrestrained campaign of police brutality against the Baltimore Negro community. The attitude of the courts is illustrated by the following incident:

TELLING CONTRAST

As Broadus was being placed in an ambulance, Francis Adams, a young Negro bystander, shouted, "That's police brutality for you." He was immediately arrested. On the pretext that he had a bottle of home-made liquor on him, he was taken in for trial. Magistrate E. E. Lane, calling him "a bad actor," sent him to jail for 30 days.

But Killer Rehak has been released, without bail, in the custody of the police department. His commanding officer says he is a fine cop and not at all "trigger-happy."

Marshall Pledges 'No Compromise' In Jim Crow Fight

By Thelma Clyde

LOS ANGELES, May 19 — **Thurgood Marshall, director of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People Legal and Educational Fund, who led the legal fight against segregation in public schools, received a "returning hero's welcome" at an NAACP mass meeting here tonight by an enthusiastic audience of 1500.**

What was to have been a rally climaxing the local NAACP membership drive, with Marshall as the main speaker, was transformed into a victory celebration.

Judge Griffith of Los Angeles counseled the audience "not to forget to thank Earl Warren — because it was through him that we were able to organize for a just decision."

Marshall, however, preferred to cite the contributions of 100 political scientists, historians and sociologists and the cooperation of the Negro press in raising $79,000 to prosecute the cases, as well as the financial and moral support of the Negro community, especially in the South. "We did it ourselves," he said.

His address was informal in manner and militant in tone. Reiterating the NAACP slogan — full emancipation by 1963 (100th anniversary of the Emancipation Proclamation) — he stated: "We have ducked and curved and compromised for the last time. We will settle for nothing less than the whole thing. We want the 'white' and 'colored' signs in the Smithsonian Institute where they belong by 1963."

Commenting on fear of repercussions of the Supreme Court decision illegalizing Jim Crow schools, expressed for the most part in the capitalist press, Marshall described in some detail the courage and will to fight of the Southern Negroes "who have the foot on their necks. . . They are not worried," he continued. "Those who were worried have left the South."

This remark caused embarrassed laughter among the fugitives from Southern tyranny and violence in the audience; nonetheless it inspired pride and confidence in and solidarity with those brothers and sisters "who stayed behind to fight it out there."

After presenting evidence that "segregation is on its way out," Marshall called for full support of the projected legal struggle against segregation in coach travel, and announced that Negroes in Baton Rouge, La., are prepared to spearhead the legal fight against segregation on intra-city public transportation with the support of NAACP.

SWP Meeting Scores Trumbull Park Terror

CHICAGO, May 22 — "We declare war on the White Circle League and Jim Crow," Bert Deck, local chairman of the Socialist Workers Party, said at a public SWP meeting tonight.

The White Circle League is a fascist group which has been inciting the racist terror campaign against Negroes living in the Trumbull Park federal housing project.

The project was formerly all-white. The Chicago Housing Authority moved the first Negro family into Trumbull Park on July 30, 1953. Rioting broke out six days later. Although the first Negro tenants in the project have moved out, 12 Negro families now live there.

ORGANIZE MAJORITY

Deck described the tightly disciplined organization of the fascist and racist groups, which enables them to carry on an effective battle against Negroes even though the majority of the people oppose the action of these groups. "Our problem is to organize this majority group," Deck said. "Until we are organized, the fascist minorities will run the show."

The NAACP and labor unions are the official spokesmen of the Negro people and the workers, and action against the terrorists must be taken through these organizations, Deck said. On May 6, the NAACP adopted a resolution calling for a demonstration at City Hall unless Mayor Kennelly takes decisive action to end the rioting. Deck urged everyone to mobilize the fullest support in their unions and other organizations to help the NAACP in its fight against terrorism at Trumbull Park.

"A march on city hall won't stop Jim Crow," Deck said, "but it will be a start. Working people, Negro and white, demonstrating side by side, will have quite an effect on the White Circle League and city officials. It will hearten the Negro families living in Trumbull Park to see the people of Chicago taking a decisive position against racial terrorism."

Victory in the Trumbull Park fight will not be achieved by depending on the Democratic Party, Deck warned. The Democratic Party is traditionally the national party of the white supremacists, and locally it is tied by a thousand threads to the real estate interests who want to preserve segregation in housing because it is so profitable to them. Mayor Kennelly's behavior throughout the entire Trumbull Park struggle is conclusive evidence that the Negro and labor movements can depend only on themselves to stop terrorism.

"We need a new party, a clean party, a Labor Party," Deck said. "No other kind of party will use the power of office to really crack down on the racist and fascist scum. No other kind of party will have an interest in removing the economic roots of Jim Crow through the united and militant action of white and Negro workers."

A full discussion followed Deck's talk, continuing during the social that followed. One person told how he found on the street a leaflet announcing the SWP meeting and came down "to see what your organization had to say. I'm glad I did. I learned something tonight."

Accusers Drop Case Against M'Carthy Victim

By John F. Petrone

In February 1950, Sen. McCarthy, making his first use of information supplied by underground sympathizers in government departments, told the Senate that State Department employee Val R. Lorwin was one of 81 "communists" in the government.

As a result disloyalty proceedings were instituted against Lorwin, a former member of the Socialist Party. Finally cleared two years later, he resigned from the government and took a job teaching at the University of Chicago. Then last December he was indicted for allegedly committing perjury when he denied ever being a member of the Communist Party.

Lorwin is the only man on McCarthy's list of 81 who was ever indicted for anything. Now the case against him has collapsed, and the indictment has been quashed. Not because he's more innocent than others who have been subjected to frameups, but because he's luckier. Here is the story:

The only "evidence" against Lorwin was the secret testimony of a former college roommate before a loyalty board. To be able to defend Lorwin, his lawyer asked Judge Curran for a transcript of the testimony. To everyone's surprise, the judge ordered that a copy be made available to the defense.

Big dilemma! The Department of Justice and the FBI are dead set against ever permitting such testimony to be made public. They even preferred to lose the Coplon case rather than let their files be opened. They claim the "national security" is imperiled if the public can get a look at the mass of crooked, flimsy and contradictory material in the files that usually forms the basis of its indictments.

Should they obey the judge's order and turn over the testimony? Or should they drop the case?

They decided to drop the case. On May 25 they went to court and admitted "irregularities" in the prosecution. They even volunteered the information that their lawyer had lied when he told a grand jury he had two witnesses to support the testimony of Lorwin's former roommate, and that they had suspended the attorney.

The judge granted their request to kill the case. The FBI's files were saved. So was Lorwin.

But what would have happened if the judge had not ordered the testimony made available? Would the Department of Justice have discovered and admitted its own irregularities? Or would it have proceeded with the trial and tried to convict Lorwin in an atmosphere where the defendant has two strikes against him before he even comes to bat — as it has done in most such cases? And would the guilty government lawyer then have been suspended — or promoted to a judge?

That's why we say Lorwin was lucky.